2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa
Lake

kind. We take such a one [either type] to a doctor, tying a rope round his waist on the way. For if we leave him free he goes and drowns himself in the lake. So then the doctor says 'His heart has suddenly turned over', and gives him a powdered medicine to eat from a bark-cloth. Then when he has eaten the medicine the doctor puts a finger at the back of his tongue to make him vomit, again and again. So then the filth comes out of him. Then the doctor says: 'Don't eat meat or fish until I give you other medicine later.' Then he ties some of the same medicine in two bark-cloths and ties one round his neck, one round his loins. . . .

Sometimes a man in the mad fit finds a woman, then he takes the leaves off his waist, catches hold of her and, forcing her to the ground, has intercourse with her. Then when the woman returns home she complains that a man in the mad fit has caught and raped her. Then her husband says: 'Well, it's all over now. If he'd been in normal health I'd have sued him for a cow for adultery before the chief, but seeing he is mad there's no point in my doing so, it's all over now!' . . .

Sometimes madness comes by itself, although no ritual has been omitted, sometimes because they have not performed a ritual. The symptoms of the two kinds are exactly the same, their cause is different. The one connected with ritual comes because the shades are angry: 'Why have you left that child untreated, without putting stones on its head . . . ? It seems it is of no account.' And then the child goes mad.

When madness comes of itself the doctor takes the patient to a waterfall and lets the water tumble on his head; then he makes him vomit, and the vomit is carried away in the water. But that which comes from ritual they don't treat in this way; they make him vomit at home, and then perform the ritual for him.

Sometimes madness brings visions (*injini*)—the man lets everything come in his speech and says of people: 'What sort are they? They are witches!' And if there is a gathering he speaks out: 'You are a witch—you bewitch your neighbour's cows!' So then people ask what he means by letting everything come in his speech like this, and they are told he has the mad fit on him. The madness gives him power to see the witches, he sees them surely. And of old if a madman with the fit on him accused you of witchcraft you would go at once to drink the ordeal. And if the ordeal accused you too then your house was burnt over you!

QUESTION: Why the washing and eating porridge?

MWAKALEBWA: If we don't do this then the children will vomit a watery fluid.

I put a direct question to him about the sausages of porridge and he admitted with a smile, rather an embarrassed one: 'Yes, well, you have understood it; yes, it is a symbol of eating excrement . . . we do it at night.'

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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us in front, we men, and the woman is also roused. If you have not the shade in you (*shaapo saayuka*)[1], then you are sterile, you are impotent, you do not copulate with women; we say that the shades have brooded over you. Why do they not rouse him to go to women? He just looks at them. Because the shade rouses within a man and says: 'Ha!' It rouses a man to copulate with a woman. If it has brooded on him then it does not rouse him; it is within him, it does not wish to come out.

QUESTION: Why do you let the hair grow in the death ritual?

MWAALEMBA: The hair is very important, it's very important.

Mwaalemba identified growing hair after spearing a man, and after the birth of twins and later shaving, with growing hair and shaving in the death ritual.

QUESTION: So letting the hair grow at an ordinary death is part of the ritual?

MWAALEMBA: It [the hair] is the corpse's. We have not yet driven him away. At the shaving we drive him off.

Syungu (wife of Mwaalemba) told me that stones were placed between the toes, not only of the participants in the death ritual, but also of a bride (*unanga*)[2] and that the stones are children (*amalwe ha bana*). The girl should bear six or ten children to her husband.

'But', I said, 'at the death ritual you throw away the corpse, the shade.'

Syungu answered: 'Yes, it is so, children are born by the power of the shades (*mmaka ga baayuka*).'

Mwaalemba himself, when asked about this, said: 'The stones are the shade, we throw him away so that when he has gone the girl may bear children.'

SYUNGU: When a girl does not bear children we say: 'Perhaps the shades are angry, the husband has not finished giving marriage-cattle.'

QUESTION: And madness?

SYUNGU: If she goes mad we say, if we have not treated her: 'We have neglected the ritual, we have not treated her!' The girl runs about aimlessly, she smears herself with filth. But when we have treated her and she goes mad then we say: 'Perhaps Kyala has deserted me, see nothing remains, we have treated her.'

[1] He used both the phrases *shaapo haja saayuka* (to be without the shade) and *saayuka shamwalaala* (the shade broods on him) for the same phenomenon.

[2] *Unanga*: a girl who has reached puberty but has not yet borne a child; one undergoing the puberty-marriage ritual (*ukwanga*).

2: Wilson E-S (1934-1938)1957 F'N17 Ngonde F'N17
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Selby, Matrimonial.

taboo, and the practical difficulties of observing the taboo if fathers and sons live in the same village is cited as a reason for the age-village organization.[1]

The marriage ritual may be said to finish with the eating of the *ilibalaga*, but avoidance of father-in-law and daughter-in-law continues until death and no clear line can be drawn between the marriage ritual proper and the rituals of pregnancy and birth which follow.

It is plain from the events described that the *ubusungu bwa-basungu* is a marriage as well as a puberty ritual and that the husband and his family play an essential part in it, but if a girl is not betrothed before puberty a curtailed ritual is still performed for her when she grows up. She drinks the *undumile* medicine, she washes with a brother, and her mothers put her formally into the hut of seclusion. They cook for the various feasts, and they tell her brothers to call their friends to help dance the stamping dance. The litter is cleared by her mothers in due course, and she is shaved and instructed. When she is eventually married, only the rites of slaughtering the bull of virginity, taking her to her husband, and returning with the *ilibalaga* are performed. She does not wash with him ritually.

(*b*) *The overt purpose and symbolism*

The avowed purpose of the *ubusungu* ritual is to protect the physical and mental health of the girl and to ensure her fertility. 'If the ritual is not performed the girl will fall ill, go mad, or not bear children.' Numerous informants were agreed on this point. Angombwike expanded it, saying: 'It is said that if they do not perform the ritual of *ubusungu* the bride will go mad. When she is sick of the madness they perform the ritual. If the doctor says: "Those below are angry," then the father of the girl takes water and prays in the banana grove saying: "My father and my grandfather, let the child recover from her sickness." Sometimes the doctor says: "The so-and-so's (naming a village) have cursed her"; then the father seeks a bull and they eat it. It is the curse which comes from the mouths of people when many whisper saying: "Why have they not performed the ritual? Why have they not performed it?" It comes from their evil breath.' Neglect of the puberty ritual is therefore thought both to anger the shades and to shock the neighbours, who expect to feast on this occasion.

[1] cf. Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, pp. 80-6.

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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425 Mwakiondo let Mpoma (Mwakaukele) take the inheritance because he
is the eldest. Mwakiondo said: 'Let him be their father.' But when
they gave the inheritance to Mpoma, they talked to one another and
said that Mwambujule should take one wife because he did not have
any wife. He was a bachelor. So they gave him one wife, but four wives
of the father were inherited by Mpoma. After a little time Mwambu-
jule said: 'My fellow has made a mistake with the property and he has
426 not given me anything.' So he strove to attract the mothers. He said:
678 'Come to me and let me inherit you myself.' The mothers agreed, they
ran away and came to his place. Mpoma was angry and went to
Mwakiondo to tell him that Mwambujule had attracted the mothers
and taken them to his house. Mwakiondo said: 'Do not make a case.'
The village headman went to Mwambujule to admonish him together
with the mothers. Then he returned them to Mpoma.

754 Later on, illness appeared. The sister of Mpoma fell ill. They gave
787 her medicines to drink and she recovered. Then the brother of Mwam-
bujule fell ill and the doctors said it was sorcery (*ubulogi*), that is,
Mwakiondo thinks it is sorcery. This is also a common rumour. But,
as will be seen later, the diviners, when appealed to, said: 'Mindu,'
that is, the shades.

755 When Mwakiondo saw the sick man, he called together all of them
754 that they might grumble (*kjumuna*) and drive away the illness, because
it is said that when people pray (*shaipula*) the sickness from sorcery
gets less. It is said if one has worked sorcery against his fellow he always
hides himself, he does not appear at his friend's house, because, if he
appears, if he comes and says: 'I am sorry for the illness (*ndaga ubu-
lwa*),' even without praying at all, the illness disappears. Also, if a sick
man has died, he does not go or he will die soon. It is said that the dead
rise. Yes, it is the same in the case of witchcraft. Then also they say that
if someone has 'eaten' his fellow he does not go to him, he hides him-
self at his own home, and if his fellow has died he does not go or he will
die very quickly. The dead rise. In the prayer they especially drive
away the shades, because it is said that sickness from the shades comes
from us living. If, for example, I have done something bad to my
fellow, and the shades are angry, but if he forgives me, they also forgive.
He must express forgiveness openly in words of prayer (*mwaye pawa ga
kwipula*). If he forgives me only in his heart, the shades do not forgive.
This prayer that we heard during the day had power both against sor-
cery and against the shades, they spoke of both. In the evening it was
completed.

754 Mwakiondo called them all together and said: 'Friends, I am
astonished that the illness has come again.' The people: 'Hu; this
illness puzzles us very much.'

MWAKIONDO: 'For what reason does this man fall ill in the summer,
and that man fall ill in the summer, and the other fall ill?'

J. Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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bananas, were placed at the door of Mwalindingo his prophet, and if in the morning the quantity was found to be less, it was clear to all that *Mlasi* had come to receive the offerings.

But the trick worked too often. As the fear of *Mlasi* diminished, men began to take advantage of their still credulous neighbours, and to demand in the name of the fading divinity cattle, beer, food supplies, to be sent to the places indicated by the impersonator of the God. This became so common that the Germans, who then ruled the country, interfered and put it down.

Very long ago there lived near Karonga a man called *Firuguli*, who after his death became a godlet, and lived on the mountain which now goes by his name. There was also a great man called Kambwe, who entered the ranks of the gods or godlets at his death, and lived in the pool a few miles from Karonga, to which in like manner he has given his name. To both of these divinities the people prayed in long-past times; and both, though able to see to the general welfare of the people, were not strong enough to punish them when evil was prevalent. When punishment was necessary, they called in the help of Mwanjebe, a minor deity of the neighbouring Henga people. *Firuguli* went south on a favouring breeze to invite his more powerful neighbour to come to his help; and Mwanjebe, who lived in a pool at the foot of a waterfall near the Overtoun Institution, came up on a floating island. Then smallpox broke out among the people, and if a visit to Kambwe showed

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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776 753 755 that the pool was bubbling, it was evident that Mwaujobe was there, and must be got rid of as soon as possible. Prayers and promises of repentance were offered, and if that did not satisfy the god, more drastic measures were taken. A great stone was heated and tumbled into the pool, around which gathered a great multitude of people, stabbing fiercely at the water with spears and reeds, to drive off the unwelcome deity. The cessation of the bubbling showed that he had gone, and the fact was still further proved when the smallpox ceased. All three godlets are now mere memories, and, except as memories, they have completely vanished, having the field clear for the ancestral spirits and the Supreme Being.

771 There was in the worship, if indeed a determined effort to drive off the deity could be called worship, "no stimulus to the realization of the riches which are given to man in his own nature." The gods presented no problems, for all problems were solved long ago by the fathers; and hence man's relation to them contained nothing upon which the faculties might work and be developed. The religion was stagnant, and the people were stagnant with it.

There was no art; not even *rude* representations of the gods; no poetry arising out of a feeling of devotion, for devotion there was none. In the case of the godlets I have mentioned, even the qualities which caused them to take rank as gods after death have been forgotten. It may be that the stories of "the brave days of old," to be related in a later chapter, afford us a hint of how the process of deifica-

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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and kill many people. The chief, Mwanemunku, protected his land in the manner described in the chapter on "The Powers of Evil," and none of his people were killed, though the total killed by a lion in that year in neighbouring districts was very large. A letter in my possession puts the number at forty, while others say fifty. Where the chief protected his land in the traditional way, the people were safe; where this was not done, the toll of human lives was great.

In 1922 the same woman predicted that, for the sins of the people, a spotted hyena would kill many. Again the chief protected his land, and again no one was killed; while in a neighbouring and unprotected land, the death-roll was considerable. In the same year leopards were predicted in the Nserya district. The chief was urged to sacrifice an ox, but refused. Six people were killed, and a number of mauled men and women were treated by Dr. Brown at the Mission at Itete.

To the Konde, as I have already said, there is no difficulty in connecting prediction and fulfilment. The inspiration of the foretellers is not doubted; the animals came as foretold; why should reasonable men refuse to acknowledge a relation between the two events? At any rate it may be presumed that the native will go on seeing a connection, while the white man will fall back upon the ever-ready doctrine of coincidence, and refuse upon any terms to acknowledge any other relation.

There is, however, spirit possession of another kind,

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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155 128 which is still a terror to many people: sheer evil spirits, who seek to take possession of a human being as a dwelling-place. Possessed children hide themselves, crying out, "*Abanda, abanda*" (men, men). Adults reveal their possession by dashing about, dancing, shouting. If the possessed makes for water, it is known that a water spirit has entered into him; if he goes to the hills, it is a mountain spirit. In either case the patient is taken by the medicine man to a waterfall, "where God dwells," and given medicine to drink. If he resists, force is used, but frequently the doctor is impressive enough to succeed without it. A bell is rung; the doctor speaks, "We have found you. Come out of the man." Then he takes water into his mouth and squirts it on the breast and back of the afflicted person, striking him at the same time with the calabash from which he took the water, and holding it for a little over the patient's head. Next he sprinkles the whole body with flour, and the party returns to the village, where every one is required to drink a medicine administered by the doctor; for when the spirit goes out of its present victim, he will seek another dwelling, but the medicine protects all who drink it from invasion. The patient must not shave his head for six to eight months, nor may he eat flesh of any kind. When the period prescribed is over, the doctor comes to shave the head of the patient, who has now recovered, and eats part of a fowl which has been treated with yet another medicine.

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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vacuum is created by suction, and the hole in the horn closed with beeswax. In about a quarter of an hour the *cup* is removed. Pain in the eyes, legs, back, is so treated. 757

Smallpox, the most dreaded of all scourges, has already been dealt with under "Worship" and "Witchcraft," and all that is here necessary is to indicate what is done for the cure of patients. An infusion made from the roots of *ikangawanya* and *sambwe* is given to drink, and the body is washed with the same mixture. The pustules are opened with the thorns of *sanula*. But more important than the medicine is a clear conscience in the patient; and prayer to the spirits and confession of sins must be made before the medicine is administered. The father, in the presence of all the family, says: "My son has smallpox; let us be at peace; whoever has anything against him, let him declare it." Any matters against the sick man are now inquired into. It may be a debt, or a quarrel, or a charge of impudence in the case of a boy. The sick man is also questioned, and makes his confession, usually of misconduct with girls, who are forbidden to approach the house. If married women are involved, neither they nor their husbands may come near. A prayer for the removal of the disease is now offered by the family representative, at the door of the house in which the patient lies, and the prayer is accompanied by the usual squirting of water from the mouth, which is never omitted. The medicine may now be administered to the sick man. A prophylactic is used by all the other members of the 757 279 755

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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155 family who have not had smallpox, but it is evidently not greatly trusted, for it is used with the formula, "Protection against smallpox is unknown, but let us try. If God and the spirits agree we shall be safe." After this ceremony there must be no quarrelling. Peace in the village is a condition of immunity from the disease.

759 In a considerable number of cases incisions are made in the skin, and powdered medicine rubbed in. This is done for general pains, rheumatism, backache, elephantiasis, toothache, spleen. For toothache, if the pain is in the right side of the face, incisions are made between the great and second toes of the left foot, and the powder rubbed in; if the pain is in the left, the powder goes in the same way into the right foot.

763 *Post mortems* are still conducted in all cases where there is any doubt as to the cause of death. Until quite recently no one was buried without examination, and in some districts that is still the case. The operation is performed at the graveside by the friends of the dead man, the actual operator being as a rule a near relative. If a black substance is found in the gall-bladder, a diviner is consulted, to find out who brought on the disease. If the examination of the gall-bladder yields no result, the heart is examined. Ulcers on that organ indicate witchcraft as the cause of death; fat indicates leprosy. Next, the intestines are examined; if *mafira* (pus) is found there it indicates a kind of rheumatism accompanied with boils. The examination being over, the parts removed are

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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[754] One of the commonest charms is called *ichipita*, and is worn on neck, wrist, or ankle, as a protection against snakes, crocodiles, lions, or leopards. It guards also against sore eyes, ulcers, evil spirits. This powerful charm, the description of which reads like a patent medicine advertisement, is made as follows: take dry *papaw* or *mpiliyi* roots, reduce to powder, add powdered head of *kitwanki* snake, and a piece of *mpiliyi* root; set the whole to boil on the fire in a broken pot. Then cut the roots into four pieces, string them on cords, leave two such cords in the house, and carry another wherever you go. If bitten by a snake, chew quickly at the charm, and then bind it on the wound.

When crossing a river, this charm, strung as before, is tied to the legs, the four pieces in this case hanging at about three inches from each other. Numerous other charms are used for the same purpose, but the one I have described is the favourite.

[755] Children suffering from mumps take small bundles of firewood, and lay them at the cross-roads, where the first passer-by will pick up the disease, and the children will immediately recover.

A youth who finds himself unpopular with maidens, goes to the doctor, who incises a powder between the eyes in the forehead. His unpopularity will assuredly pass away, as will that of a girl similarly treated. An older man who is disliked or distrusted by his fellows, has a different medicine incised into the same place, and with equal success. But, more valuable still, a man who is involved in a lawsuit, before either the magistrate or the local chief, or who wishes to gain

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
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ment so often that finally it is either not paid at all, or paid when it is quite convenient for the debtor to do so. To secure this desirable result the debtor, when he learns that his creditor is coming to demand payment, slips out into the bush, where he gets the roots of a plant called *kutini*, which he chews as the creditor approaches. A most amiable conversation ensues, at the end of which the creditor begs his friend on no account to disturb himself about the small matter that lies between them: any other time will do just as well, and he will be delighted to call again in a couple of months or so. The same end is attained by incising a powder into the forehead between the eyes.

Hunting medicines have already been referred to. One is incised along the bone from the thumb to the elbow; another is taken internally, but this latter is dangerous, because it leads to a lingering death. When death draws on, instead of dying as common men do, the whole body of the hunter who drinks this medicine becomes helpless; the heart keeps going, the lips move and talk; death does not come. Then his friends come and sing to him: "*Ndembo syaya mmiyombo*," the elephants are among the trees. The sick man, puffing out his cheeks, emits breath with a whirring sound, which is supposed to resemble a sound made by elephants, and presently he breathes his last.

But there are few ills, imaginary or otherwise, for which there are no cures, imaginary or otherwise: and the cautious hunter, finding old age creeping on him, and his hunting days becoming a thing of

3: Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
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memories and yarns, eats food made from the flour of a pumpkin, which destroys the virtues of his hunting medicines, and at the same time takes away all probability of his death being the prolonged weariness it would otherwise be.

Fishing nets are drugged to ensure a good catch; but here again caution must be exercised, for a very great catch is an omen of a very large family, which is not always an ambition held by the Konde people.

The mother who has just given birth to a child must not cook food, nor may she warm herself at the common fire; a small fire is kindled for her at which she sits by herself; and when the child goes out of the house for the first time a medicine is put into its mouth to guard it against the ills of the world into which it has come.

Christians do none of these things; but Christians are not as other people. They have passed away from the fear of spirits and from the dread of a world in which anything may happen at any moment; and the fact that they escape the consequences of failure to follow custom is having its effect on the common people, many of whom are cautiously experimenting to see whether they too may live a freer and more unshadowed life; but the belief in the protective powers of such things as I have been describing dies hard.

9: Wilson E-S (1934-1935) 1959
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778 782 Lwembe, and the grave of the first Lwembe himself, the last being the most sacred. In it stands a miraculous tree from which, the priests aver, sometimes comes sap like water, and sometimes blood. 'If it is watery there will be a plague of ulcers in the country—running sores—if it is blood there will be dysentery. But as soon as the bones are placed in the grave, or the black bull is killed, then the sick begin to recover.'

[781] [755] ●

718 Godfrey Wilson attended three celebrations at Lufingu, and we heard of five others which occurred during our period of field-work. The ritual is esoteric, that is to say, only the representative of Lwembe and his priests participate, and the details are not revealed to others, but its occurrence is widely known and discussed among older men.

[643] [779] [177] The celebrations observed were modified by the fact that no one had been installed as Lwembe since the death of Mwakisiya (36) before 1914. The possible candidates whom the priests had wished to install had refused—'they feared the grave'; the only one who was said to be willing was rejected on account of his character. The priests gave 'European times' as the reason for there being no Lwembe. 'When the country was new before you Europeans came' the elected candidate was compelled to accept office. On the death of Mwakisiya, the Kinga priests ordered that his senior son Mwanjala I (77) should take his place, and when Mwanjala I died (three years after his father) his full brother Mwanjala II (78) succeeded. He took a leading part in the rituals observed, but was not an anointed Lwembe. The priests explained: 'We fear, thinking that if a chief is seized [and compelled to sit on the stool] he will complain to the Government and we shall be punished.' During the period of German rule they had been threatened with imprisonment if they continued the ritual . . . 'we feared and stole through the country by night' . . . . And there is still much secrecy about its truncated celebration. Since the journey down 'the road of Lwembe' with the drum traditionally involved human sacrifice, and the Lwembe was smothered when ailing, there is an absolute incompatibility between a full celebration of the ritual and European administration.

177 788 The influence of the Christian minority is also considerable. The view of most Nyakyusa Christians with whom we discussed communal rituals is that they used to be efficient, but are so no longer, since men have been taught a better way of approaching God. 'God said: "They are mistaken but in their hearts they are

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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CHAPTER VII

CLEANSING THE COUNTRY

769 Sorcerers as the lovers and the shades of the chiefs are lofty and princes—only a handful of princes and chiefs may enter the groves and the details of the rituals are not discussed with other people. But there are other celebrations in which everyone 796 participates; these are the rituals for cleansing the community— 783 'throwing out the rubbish' (*ukujola ifulunga*)—more specifically the ashes from all the hearths.

In Ngonde the cleansing is organized for the whole kingdom, from Mbande, but among the Nyakyusa each chiefdom acts independently. Traditionally, we were told, the *ukujola ifulunga* was an annual celebration, observed at the 'new year', after the break of the rains, but it could also take place if there were much sickness in the country, or plague, or prophecies of evil to come. It was celebrated (in an attenuated form and by a section of the community only) in Ngonde in July 1933, to cleanse the country of a plague of rats, and in September of the same year a somewhat similar ritual was performed in Perukaro's chiefdom because a [787] fearful omen had been seen—a ground hornbill had eaten a [778] chicken. The annual celebrations had been dropped both in Ngonde and BuNyakyusa before 1933.

As has been shown in the *Rituals of Kinship* the Nyakyusa believe [769] that too close an association with the shades is dangerous; all the [755] family rituals are designed to drive them away, to drive them out of the bodies of the mourners, or menstruating girls, or parents of twins; and the purpose of 'throwing out the ashes' in all the homesteads is essentially the same. The shades 'come to warm themselves' at the hearths of their descendants, they 'bring sickness 783 to the hearths' and so the old ashes are cleared out and new fire is [778] lighted. The phrase *ukujola ifulunga* is used in Ngonde for clearing out the litter (*ulujwala*) after a burial, or an initiation ritual, and for shaving after a ritual, as well as for clearing the ashes from all the hearths in the country.

[754] It is also thought that domestic fires are contaminated by [775] witches who may have cooked the human flesh they steal over their victims' own fires. In Ngonde it was the connexion between

[p. 102]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1935) 1959
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[770] They say that complaining drives away illness, even though the witches
[771] are not seen, and do not confess saying, 'It is we' yet they are ashamed
[772] thinking 'People have caught me' and they desist.]
[773] Mwaseteyo: Catch anyone you see in your dreams. If someone is ill should we not all gather?
Mwaseteyo: Countrymen, give thanks that there are the chiefs.

And the company answered.

Then there was a discussion about the direction in which the chief should spit and people run. One pointing towards Tukuyu said: 'We always looked that way.' Another said: 'We always reached the boundary.'

[774] Mwafula (a village headman) came with his young son carrying a calabash of medicated water. Pumkeyo took a sip and spat out eastward, 'in the direction of the grave of Kabade, to the shades.'

[775] Mwamulenga shouted: 'Now we have prayed, the sickness is finished, we are present and watch over the homesteads. If we see anyone bringing sickness we will catch him and crush him on the sleeping mat.' There was a roar from the crowd, then all rushed yelling ten yards or so eastward to the edge of the fields, and back again. Pumkeyo ran a little way with them, his malaria cane raised, then stopped, looking self-conscious, and strolled homeward. Everyone else scattered, chattering and laughing. On the way back we were greeted: 'You have prayed! Did you catch witches? Whom did you catch?'

Mwamulenga, senior brother of Pumkeyo and an expert in ritual, added one or two points in explanation:

In the old days we threw out the ashes, but we have not yet done so this time; we begin with the ritual on the pasture land and throw out the ashes afterwards. In the old days we threw them out of all the houses and put in fresh fire, new ash, saying 'Thou Kyala, thou shade, receive us, let us sleep here, we throw out the ashes, let sickness be slight.' Those who are angry now are our shades—those of the chiefs—they have gathered with the shades of the commoners. The medicated water means: 'Thou shade, you fathers, may we sleep, use this water for us if we are ill, may we be strong.' The water goes to the shades with these words.

Q.: Why must the women come?

M.: They call the war cry, we run swiftly, the women follow calling the war cry which means, 'You shade, we call the war cry for you that we may be pure—without anger—in our bellies, make us strong also, thou shade, may we also be pure in our bellies, this is your war cry . . .' The running and calling the war cry is to mock at him, to drive him

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
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away. We run with him, we leave him over there, we return and bring him in. We drive him off because he brought sickness; when we have done so we return and bring him again that we may be pure—without anger—and he also may be pure. We are with him all the time; we never throw him away. We always have the old one in the belly, an inkoni is he, and if I die I am with him, this earth (pointing to the earth of his homestead) never goes away, it is he. So if the corpse fell when I have lived I say: 'The shade is angry, this earth.' (*Pepo shale nalinguse kuulu wanda, wanalolele ju juju, walinguse ngholele walinguse—angle ngo gwilyenge walume ju juju—ngaje longe ndamile nikoni 'anyanka shalole angle ngo' ku fyalile.*) Yes, in the death ritual also we drive him away with his sickness, and bring him back, always the old one.

After the ritual all have normal intercourse with their wives, but the night before there was no intercourse. How should we do evil on the man whom we have not yet blessed the shade? But when we have blessed him then all of us lie on our mats again. To lie together is to consume the ritual, the shades are shocked and say, 'How can you do this? You agreed yesterday to bless the shades and you do this, why?' Then later, if a woman bears a child which cries at night, people say, 'You contemned the ritual, pray for the child.' Or perhaps the woman is barren. We liken the water and the war cry to what we do on the mats—the water is the shade's and the war cry is his, it is his work. When we have spoken to the shade he comes into my belly—then I come together with my wife again.

This interpretation by Mwasalemba indicates that the blowing out of water is a symbol of omission. 'It is what men do.' It has been shown in *Rituals of Kinship* that the shades are driven out of the body in the sex act; that the shade and semen are identified; and that driving off the shade is a condition of health and unity. The fact that blowing out water is *also* a symbol of confession—admission of anger, 'bringing out all that is within'—and supplication does not invalidate Mwasalemba's interpretation, for the same act is symbolized in many ways and the same symbol expresses events which are distinct, but associated. As in so many societies, abstinence is felt to be a necessary preparation for the celebration of a ritual, and the union, real or symbolic, of husband and wife the necessary conclusion.[1] All this is intelligible only in terms of the Nyakyusa ideas about procreation discussed in *Rituals of Kinship*. The shade is the vital force in men

[1] cf. I. Cunnison, 'Headmanship and Ritual at Luapula Villages', *Africa*, xxvi (1956), pp. 5-23; H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe* (1927), vol. i, pp. 320-21; J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (1911), pp. 48, 53-55.

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and women, it is procreative power, fertility. That power is constantly expelled from the belly but returns again and by that expulsion and return men live.

There was a great deal of criticism from the conservatives because no sacrifice had been made.

Mwaseteta: Now people are talking much saying, 'We have abandoned that which they did formerly, we are doing something else.' People have many dreams [gesture head on hand as if heavy with anxiety], many say: 'I have dreamed of the dead, they told me to sacrifice a cow, to pray, we did not pray properly, that is useless, it will not effect anything.' So we have told the chief saying: 'Let us kill a cow at the grave of Mwakan'ata,' he has agreed, but the cow has not yet come.

Formerly, on the night following the day of the prayer we should have eaten the sacrificial cow, the chief would have killed two cows and the headmen from different villages would have come and eaten by night, and drunk beer provided by the chief, in the house of the senior wife of the chief. . . . They ate a little meat, raw, the rest they roasted. Then in the morning, when they had eaten and were satisfied, they would go to clear out the house, to throw out the ashes, and to pray, as we prayed now, and to make new fire by friction in the pasture land. The village headmen made fire with medicine which the chief gave him, the name of the medicine is Mhamba, it's a tree. To throw out the ashes means to clear out all the filth, the filth which the witches and the shades have brought to us—the filth that is sickness. . . . Do not the witches eat meat at the fire? Human flesh? Some roast at your fires your bodies which they have seized, some go home with the human flesh to their own fires, hence comes the filth of the ashes. The village headmen eat the sacrificial meat at night with the shades, they celebrate for them with the blood which goes beneath. . . .

If the chief has done something wrong, then those above [i.e. the village headmen] pray to those beneath saying, 'Let us help one another to punish him who has strayed, but we do not wish that he should die, let him be ill; perhaps then he will seek something to nourish us.' Again the night before the throwing out of the ashes they confirm their anger and say: 'You beneath, this our child (the chief) has remembered us, there is no accusation against him now, may sickness go away from the country, and children sleep, let us all sleep and the cows calve. We greet those beneath.' In my childhood I was repeatedly surprised at night when my father came in, he had a little parcel of meat. 'Where have you been?' I asked. 'We have been praying.' But since I grew up and became a village headman, and was recorded as such [by the administration] we have never seen sacrificial meat.

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994 Penja chief, Mwalukasa. He called all his people because he heard that
783 smallpox was coming and said: 'Let us pray.' And he called his fellow
783 chiefs, those of the same lineage, and said: 'Let this illness not come,
may it go to other chiefs. . . . Listen! I am the chief! We have heard that smallpox is approaching, who is here who rejoices at his approach? Who is here who wishes that it should kill us?'

Ten chiefs: We, we do not rejoice that it is coming, we reject it, chief Mwalukasa, may it pass by this homestead.

Ten commoners: And we also reject it, may it pass by our homesteads.

Mwalukasa: And I, I reject it, may smallpox not come into our country. If there be one who has relations in a chiefdom where there is smallpox and they come to call him to a funeral let them stay at a distance, and not sleep here, let him not go near until the illness has passed by, at the end of the year. If you wishes go to fetch it, you will kill your
[784] fellows with whom you are chatting now. You will not enjoy my company or build with me, the chief, if you go and bring in smallpox and kill your fellows. We pray that it may pass. [For it is believed in this country that the witches go to bring in illness, or wild animals, from a distance.]

Ten commoners: Yes, indeed, may it pass by.

Mwalukasa: If you go to bury a brother in a country in which there is smallpox stand afar off, tie the cow you bring to a tree and call to them: 'Here is my cow for killing, come and take it.' Take your cow, but do not go into the homestead.

And the people did as he said. Then he told them to get ready for the ritual. He took his calabash cup and three other chiefs with
[785] calabash cups followed him. They blew water and prayed to Kyala and the shades. Then the people were gathered together; and the chiefs, led by Mwalukasa, ran round first by each group in turn and blowing out water towards them; the men held their shields in front of them and when the chiefs blew they shook their shields violently, as if fighting.

When all was finished then Mwalukasa said: 'When you go home,
[372] throw out the ashes and the fires; all make new fire with drills.' And they all did this.

Finally he had bamboos planted with medicine on the main roads between BuPenja and BuKukwe and BuPenja and BuNyiha. No one
● [755] ill with smallpox, or who had lived in contact with smallpox, was allowed to pass, unless he had been ill and recovered. I saw the one bamboo clump on the boundary of Nyiha and Penja country. No one passed it, it was very fearsome (*lasiga fjo*).

As in cultivation there was a combination of ritual and science.

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CHAPTER IX

KASITILE THE PRIEST

WE turn now from the description of rituals to a personal document, an account of the illness of Kasitile (86), the leading priest of Selya, the causes suggested for it, and the rituals performed. His case shows: (i) the power of village headmen over chiefs in general, more particularly the power of the commoner priests (village headmen of the previous generation) over hereditary priests of the chief's lineage; (ii) the persistent linking of misfortune with sin in both public and private life; (iii) the function of divination in selecting between possible causes of disease; (iv) the influences of Christian and Muslim teaching and Western medical science on a conservative who goes so far as to invite a Muslim to cut the throat of the sacrificial animal and speaks of turning Christian in his old age; and (v) the very great importance attached to 'speaking out' (*ukusosya*) and not leaving anger to smoulder unconfessed. Beer is necessary for such a ritual 'speaking out' and the participants are pressed to drink deep, for *in vino veritas*.

The *dramatis personae* are:

KASITILE (86) of the chief's lineage, priest of Selya
JANE his senior and favourite wife
JANE'S YOUNGER SISTER and co-wife
KILULELE a third wife suspected of bewitching Kasitile
MWAIPOPO (116) the chief and senior kinsman of Kasitile
MWAKYONDE (148) the doctor who was treating Kasitile
KINGA *priests* (i.e. Kikungubeja Nsyanigwa, Kyamba Kitali, *vide* pp. 24-34)
NGULUYO, NJOBOKOSA, KISOOOTA } Village headmen of Mwaijonga (82) and priests of his grove, *vide* pp. 74-7, 84-5
MWAMAKUNDA THE ELDER a hereditary priest, assistant to Kasitile
MWAMAKUNDA THE YOUNGER (Mwambagoje) son of the elder who often acted in his place

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793 NDEMBWE
755 NSOKI
[551] NSESA
[791] A SANGU
} Diviners consulted by Kasitile

NDISA a kinsman of Kasitile

793 755 It will be remembered that, in accordance with the custom of delegating ritual functions to a junior line, Kasitile's grandfather (44) had been appointed rain-maker and priest responsible for receiving the Kinga when they came to sacrifice at Lubaga. Kasitile thus held an important public office. He was living on the plain (where he had inherited the estate of his father's younger brother) where his own elder brother (85) died and he came up into Selya to bury him and succeed to his position. But he failed to notify the Kinga priests of his brother's death and they were [787] very angry, and told him he would die if he stayed in the homestead, so he fled back to the plain. There he fell ill, and he was carried back to Selya to be treated by the visiting Kinga priests, who told him he was sick 'because he went to the plain in a hurry and they had not given him medicine'. The idea here is that the heir to a chief or priest must cultivate the power that was in his [778] father's body by drinking medicines: Kasitile was 'losing the *ifingila* of his father by not drinking medicines'. Now *ifingila* implies *both* the medicines of chieftainship and the power which they create in the body of a man.

So Kasitile was treated and we quote his own account of what happened:

> The Kinga came to cook medicine by the tree where I pray—it is where the cattle byre of my elder brother was. They put some medicine for Jane [his senior wife] and me in beer . . . and we drank together . . . [783] and they boiled medicines in a pot and told us both to wash with the infusion every day for two months. I found a goat and called the priests Ngulyo, Njobakosa, and Kissogota and . . . they and the Kinga priests ate the meat together, and they told me to stay for two months and return to the plain again, and so I did. Then the Kinga sent for me to come back and I've come up to live. I found a cow, and called the priests and killed it at the sacred grove, Kinyangwa, and all the people ate the meat. Then the Kinga told me to move to my father's old homestead, and I did so this very year.

[753] Before we arrived, therefore, Kasitile had been in conflict with his fellow priests, and he had been very ill, and attributed his

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illness to neglect of his duty to the Kinga. All the time we were in BuNyakyusa he was ailing—possibly he suffered from tuberculosis—and one wrongdoing after another was suggested as the cause of his illness. 793 755 [753]

His case is intelligible only in terms of the conception of 'the breath of men', that is, a power akin to witchcraft thought to be legitimately exercised by village headmen and others to punish wrongdoers, but which is referred to by the victims as 'witchcraft'. This has been discussed at length elsewhere.[1] [754]

On 2nd July 1935, Kasitile had left his own house and was living with a friend in a neighbouring village. His doctor, Mwakyonde, said that he was being 'throttled by the witches' and had invited him to come and recollect himself (*ukwipelekesya*) in the tranquillity of a village of another chiefdom in which there were many people with spiritual power (*abamanga*) so that 'the witches' could not get at him. This is a common precaution in case of illness, for witches are thought not to have power ordinarily outside their own village and never beyond the chiefdom.[2] 793 754

The cause of the illness was explained as follows: Kasitile had quarrelled with Kissogota, the commoner priest, and others of the principal men of the country, because he had found them drinking the sacred beer (*ubwikemo*), brewed after the millet harvest (*vide supra*, pp. 84-5) without telling him, or sending him the pot which was his due. They invited him to drink, but he refused and they each sent him 1*s.* to beg pardon. Kasitile bought beer with one of the shillings and called the senior commoner priest, Ngulyo, and his fellows to drink saying, 'I was angry, friends, you "overstepped" me' (i.e. they had ignored his rights). He himself should have brewed when he confessed his anger, and slaughtered a calf or prepared food for them as well, but he had bought only one shilling's worth of beer and provided nothing himself. Then, when they had drunk, Kasitile fell ill. Hence it was said that the commoner priests were angry and 'ate' (i.e. bewitched) him. Kasitile's own comment was: 'The fault lies with the young priests (Ngulyo, a young man, had inherited his father's position), they are useless as priests . . . I was not told of that ritual beer, yet the medicine comes from me, from this home where I keep it. They should have come to me to get it and put it with the millet in the holy pot. They drank the beer without medicine. It is they who have brought cold and hunger on the country. I think the [578] [753] [689] [731] [789]

[1] Monica Wilson, *Good Company*, pp. 91-121, 167-9. [2] *op. cit.*, pp. 102-3.

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trouble is that Mwaipopo (the chief 116) is getting old. . . .' Here Kasitile suggested two different causes for the scarcity in the country: (*a*) the negligence of the priests, and (*b*) the senility of the chief. In the old days Mwaipopo would have been smothered, as Angombwike explained (*vide supra*, p. 63).

On the 9th, Kasitile, much troubled by his cough at night, expressed a great desire for the return of the missionary nurse to Kabembe hospital. 'She is killing us by her absence, the black people don't know anything about these things, only the Europeans. Why, I went there and the dresser just gave me an injection without taking my temperature—no European ever does that.'

The following day he sent off his sons with 10 c. to inquire about his case from a diviner. The diviner said: 'The wives at his home are gossiping to other people about their husband. People want the husband's body to be light. It is not Jane, because she is his favourite, but the others.' Kasitile said:

I shan't do anything, I said 'Let's leave it.' I am still in Butola [the village to which he moved for safety]. Mwakyonde is giving me medicine for my disease. It drives out the cold which is in my body. Yes, the cold is the breath of the witches coming to throttle me—it's due to my wives' gossip. But it started as a quarrel with other people [non-relatives] first. One day I went to drink beer in Bujege and that night I fell sick; that is how it began. Men are complaining because I, a chief, a senior, do not cook food for them. They throttle me on that account. They say: 'Let us see whether he is really a chief, a senior!' But others say: 'He has done no wrong.' Yes, the sickness took me on the way home from the beer. Perhaps Kyala asked: 'What has he done?' and found I had done no wrong. If there had not been a Kyala who saves us I would have been dead.

When I consulted a diviner he struck a spear and looked along it, then he said: 'The disease now is from his wives—the earlier attack was from men, but this one is from his wives. When they gather at the hearth they say: "Come hither, we see him where he sleeps." '

'Are the wives witches?' we asked.
Kasitile replied:

Yes. They say: 'There is a favourite, we are not beloved.' If a man's wives are good the witches can get into the house, but their cold breath dissipates quickly; you are given medicine and recover quickly; but if the wives are bad they gather together the medicine and press it down, so that it is powerless. One of my wives is very bad, her lineage is bad, it is she who calls to her aid the heavy ones, the witches. The

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KASITILE: Yes indeed.
SANGU: Now your body is sick, you are coughing. 787
KASITILE: Yes indeed, I am ill, and I am coughing a great deal. 791
SANGU: Yes, it is that quarrel down there. You came with the cough from the plain. 753
KASITILE: Yes, I came with it.
SANGU: You are a priest, you are a senior priest. (He knew this himself!)
KASITILE: Yes indeed.
SANGU: But the cough comes from the quarrel in the plain. If you were not a priest you would have died.
KASITILE: Indeed, we quarrelled over land, over the boundaries, on the plain. I hoed someone else's land—the land of a commoner there. [578]
SANGU: They placed something to injure you.

Kasitile paused in his narrative and we asked how the 'something' operated.

KASITILE: In dreams, by means of their witchcraft. [754]

The Sangu told me: 'It is this which causes you to cough continually, but there is something else also, you did not move to the plain from here without trouble.'

KASITILE: No, I moved with an accusation against me. [775]
SANGU: Yes indeed, you did wrong and now your fathers are very angry. [776]
KASITILE: Yes, I cut a tree.
SANGU: Mother! You cut a tree? The fathers and Kyala are brooding over you, Kyala is angry and broods over you. Pray, pray very much. It is you who are throttling the cattle of the country.

We expressed surprise and Kasitile continued: 'Yes, indeed. The Sangu said: "It is your wrongdoing (in cutting the tree) which is causing the cows to abort. I will clear out the thing which came with you from the plain. Bring 2*s.* tomorrow." He's a great doctor, Mwaipaja.' [688]

The astonishing thing was that Kasitile, a man of considerable intelligence and inclined to query the truth of the revelations of some oracles, was so much impressed by the fact that the foreign doctor (staying in the country) knew that he was a priest and had sojourned in the plain, though to anyone knowing KiNyakyusa well his connexion with the plain was apparent in his speech, and his bearing indicated him as a personage.

Talking of the divination three days later, Kasitile told us the Sangu doctor had said: 'You have done wrong at home. This Kyala (pointing to the little pot into which he was looking) knows that Lwembe and the Kinga and your father are angry, your father is very important, he works with Kyala, he is with him.' 755 ●

As a treatment for the cough the doctor put various ingredients with 791

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some live coals into a small calabash and held them against Kasitile's chest 'to clear out the blood of coughing'. To pacify the shades a pot of medicines in water was put on the fire; the doctor, Kasitile, and his 'senior wife' (actually her younger sister, as Jane was away) each held the pot with a crooked finger. Then Kasitile and all his wives and children were sprinkled with the hot medicines. And the doctor told Kasitile to sacrifice a bull.

During the following week preparations for the sacrifice went ahead. Kasitile walked for some hours through the forest to call Mwamakunda, his fellow priest who always assisted him in the celebrations at Lubaga and 'sprinkling the country'. Mwamakunda is a very old man, contemporary of Kasitile's father, and he asked: 'Are you bringing your European to the sacrifice?'

KASITILE: Yes.

MWAMAKUNDA: But your father Mwakanjoki (60) did not know any Europeans, he feared them, he died without ever meeting one. After your father died, when your elder brother was alive, Europeans came —Germans—and cut down a tree, the *umwali* tree in the sacred grove near Kamesu; blood gushed out, it shouted so that it was heard in BuKinga.

Kasitile explained that the Germans had wanted timber. Afterwards Mwaipopo (the chief 116) sought a sheep and they tried to put the grove to rights ('close up') by sacrificing it. This was the tree beside which the sacred meat was always put when they sacrificed in the grove. Now one branch has grown up again from the roots.

Mwamakunda went on: 'But you did wrong at the beginning not to take the European to pray, and to tell Mwakanjoki (60) that he should not be afraid, the European has made himself our friend.' Kasitile, reporting the interview to us said: 'I concealed that we went together to the grove to pray (*vide supra*, p. 115) and Mwamakunda told me: "Let the European take something, let it stay overnight in the house, and go with him, and pray very much. . . . Mwakanjoki has gone off in a huff from your home, you have offended him yourself. Go with the European, take him to your father's home. Now your father has taken offence, he is shaking your body by night because you cut the tree; you have done wrong." ' i.e. two causes for the anger of the shades and Kasitile's consequent sickness were given: (i) the cutting of the tree by Mwakanjoki's grave and (ii) Godfrey Wilson's presence at rituals and at Kasitile's homestead. So before the sacrifice of expiation for pruning the grove was performed Godfrey Wilson went to be introduced to Kasitile's shades for the second time.

Record of G.W. 9/4/37

In the evening as the sun was setting, I went to Kasitile's house with a cloth and 2*s*. He put them in the house, took down the calabash which

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CHAPTER X

MEDICINES

278 789 755 THE Nyakyusa regard medicines as an ultimate source of power —given the right ingredients and the 'know how' a man may achieve anything. This conception is integral to their view of reality, moreover the distinctions made regarding the just use of them throw light on the Nyakyusa moral system, and must be examined. But a full analysis of Nyakyusa medicines (*imikota*) would require a book in itself together with an expert knowledge of botany and of the properties of plants. Here we are concerned only with those aspects of the belief and practice in medicines which touch directly on social relationships or which illuminate the Nyakyusa conception of reality and morality, and their use of symbols.

Already many references have been made to medicines for they are an adjunct of most rituals, but their use is not confined to these; often a private individual is treated alone, and such a treatment is not classed by the Nyakyusa as a ritual (*ubunyago*), so we must stray, for a little time, beyond the limits of our title.

(*a*) TYPES OF MEDICINES

278 789 A classification in terms of purpose shows a close conformity with the use of medicines by other peoples in Africa. The use of medicines for protection and cure; for fertility; for success in any chancy undertaking from hunting and fishing to love-making, theft, a court case, or securing a job; for exacting vengeance; and for oracles, is familiar enough. What emerges from a detailed analysis is that the intractability of *persons* is felt to be at least as great a problem as the intractability of *things*, and many treatments are directed towards transforming personalities and developing moral qualities. The medicine given to a bride at puberty is to make her 'patient and polite' as well as fertile; the medicines given to chiefs and village headmen are to make them dignified and wise. A thief is often treated with medicines by his relatives to cure him of his thieving habits; and the famous *gwambemula* medicine is used to control the anger of a husband, a chief, an employer, or a superior officer. (It is said to be much in

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We remarked to a Christian friend, a deacon, that the rains were late. He replied: 'Well, it is not so very unusual. Sometimes rains begin in one part of the country and not in another. Sometimes we do not get heavy rain down here until the end of January.' In short, the more educated Christians are beginning to think in more general terms: they do not as yet define probabilities statistically in terms of rainfall averages, but they are tending in that direction.

And what of the positive content of Christianity? The supreme attraction, mentioned again and again as the reason for conversion, is: 'There is life' (*ubumi bulipo*), and it is life in a world to come rather than 'more abundant life' here and now that is spoken of. The contrast is between heaven above and the shadowy world 'beneath' of pagan thought, or a fearful fiery hell in which most Christians believe and to which, some think, all pagans are condemned. Constantly in sermons by Nyakyusa preachers there was stress on life, resurrection, and on the rewards and punishments of the future life, and this theme recurs again and again in the dreams of Christians.

There is a gulf also between the pagan conception of 'driving off' the shades and the heroes lest by 'brooding over' a man they bring madness and death, and the Christian ideal of union with God. Sermons stress the goodness and love of God, characteristics quite foreign to the traditional picture of Kyala.

Something of the quality of Christian thought and feeling may be grasped by an examination of the names taken at baptism—the convert from paganism always chooses a new name for himself and the meaning is more immediately obvious to everyone than it is with modern English Christian names derived, as they mostly are, from languages no longer familiar. Many of the Nyakyusa names express a very direct personal relationship with God, the Redeemer: 'He has looked upon me', 'He has roused me', 'He has waited hoping for me', 'He has died for me', 'He gives me courage', 'He has changed me', 'He has chosen me out', 'He has comforted me', and a score more of the same type. Some refer to the Gospels: 'Word of Truth', 'The Word has taken hold of me'. A few speak of purification: 'Make me white', 'He has washed me'. Some express that union with God which the pagans so greatly fear: 'We are with him', 'He has come near', 'He has brooded over me', 'Let us approach', and some thanksgiving: 'Let us sing to Him', 'We praise Him', 'We have rejoiced', and some life: 'He is risen',

13:Lehmann E-5 (1939) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
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142
177
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342
854
622

The chief Wwamasika and his family after he had received from me my old "Klepper-Mantle" as a gift.

to enter his hut, where the patient was sitting on the ground with his back to the wall. To heal his patient of the pains, the doctor made some small incisions in his skin near the stomach by means of a triangular-shaped knife, and then he rubbed in the incisions a thick black juice taken from the horn of an antelope (the horn was called *kapembe*, pl. *ulupembe*). The juice was prepared from different roots and herbs as a medicine against stomach pains. In the horn were certain divisions for other medicines, and in each of these divisions was stuck a small (black) stick for removing the specific medicine from it. After this treatment the patient declared that he felt severe pains in the region of his stomach. I asked the doctor for some of his medicines, but he was unwilling to give me anything. Then I promised to bring him next day some European medicines hoping to get in exchange some of his medicaments.

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757
[415
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The following morning I returned. On this occasion I did acquire some of his medicines in exchange for various European tablets, especially as he was most fascinated with the kaliumpermanganatum[1] of which I gave him a few crystals, explaining to him the use and the dose; when I dissolved some of the crystals before his eyes, it probably seemed to him to be a mystical process. Among the medicines I received then from him was a medicine for luck, called *kwarusako*. Some of the inhabitants of the village, who had meantime appeared, were very unwilling for him to give me this medicine, and maintained that I would take with me all the luck of the village.

[777]

On this second visit to the medicine-man, there was again a patient present, and I wanted to take a photograph of the scene because it was

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[1] [i.e., $KMnO_4$. – Analyst]

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123 in the open air and not within the hut as on the previous day. But the patient was unwilling to be photographed. He feared, he said, that by 755 the photo I would take „his inner man together with the medicine just accepted" with me to Europe. I tried to calm him, showing him some pictures of my family, and I also let him look through the view-finder of my camera, so that at last he was satisfied. Then, after feeling more confident, he told me the cause of the pains which led him to come to the doctor. He thought he had been bewitched, as he had met a descendant of a man whom some long time ago had killed one of his own ancestors.

[142] [291] [516] 756

The Medicine Man and one of his patients. The medicines are spread out on the mat.

756 Then the medicine man also explained to me how he had come to the position of a doctor. He did not inherit his position from his father, but he was instructed in medical practices by another doctor. The circumstances which had led him to this position were the following.

[837] Before his initiation to the medical practice he had entered into forbidden relations with the wife of another man. To protect himself [789] from the magical revenge of the deceived husband and his kin he went to a medicine man to acquire antidotes against the expected bewitching. He had to pay two cows for this medicine, and as he had paid them, the medicine-man offered to initiate him into the secrets of the practice of a medicine-man. The character of the client, probably, had won his confidence, and indeed, the medicine-man whose guest I now was, made a profound impression on me.

754 He also described some forms of bewitching[3] for vengeance. For this purpose the avenger poisons a fowl in his own village uttering curses

[3] Cf. G. Wilson, Introduction, p. 277 (belief in witchcraft).